UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes
Editor in Chief

Louis L. Mann
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Habit Survivals

By ZONA GALE

A Business Man Looks at Russia

By MARK H. DIX

Cow-Worship and Sex

By EDWARD HOLTON JAMES

Oppressed Indians at Home!

By HELEN R. CRANE

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

U. S. Urged to Join the World Court

Viewing the World Court as a "peace court," Salmon O. Levinson, pioneer in the movement for the outlawry of war, urges that the United States join the court at a special session of the Senate next November.

He hopes that President Hoover will call the Senate together for this purpose and declared that in so doing he would be making the greatest possible contribution at this time to the cause of peace.

Obviously if disputes are no longer to be settled by the adjudication of war, then there must be some tribunal to which they can be peaceably referred, Mr. Levinson emphasized. The World Court is already set up for this function. Yet by a curious twist, the United States, which did so much to promote the peace pact, has as yet failed to take the next necessary step to back up the pact.

"American adherence to the Court is vital, not only in the cause of the Pact of Paris but of disarmament," Mr. Levinson pointed out. Because of the general conference on disarmament coming next February, action on the Court should be taken as soon as possible.

"America will play a ridiculous role at the disarmament conference if it refuses to join the only judicial court ever established in international relations and thereby tramples upon its peace treaty, which provides that disputes between nations shall be settled only by peaceful means. The greatest peaceful method known to civilization is a judicial court.

"The matter is entirely in the hands of President Hoover, who has for years supported American entry into the World Court. There are not to exceed 19 votes in the Senate against the court, which is 14 short of the number necessary to defeat it. Therefore, the moment President Hoover calls a special session of the Senate in November for the purpose of presenting the court, the issue is settled, and we shall take our place where we belong as a vital factor in the question of disarmament next February."

Our Caribbean Virgins

Probably no franker and more unusual declaration has been made by a president of the United States than that of Herbert Hoover in regard to the Virgin Islands:

"The Virgin Islands may have some military value some time. Opinion upon this question is much divided. In any event, when we paid $25,000,000 for them, we acquired an effective poorhouse, comprising 90 per cent of the population.

"The people cannot be self-supporting either in living or government without the discovery of new methods and resources.

"The purpose of the transfer of the administration from the naval to a

(*Continued on page* 207)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

VOLUME CVII MONDAY, MAY 25, 1931 NUMBER 13

LAWS

"Trust me, each state must have its policies:
Kingdoms have edicts, cities have their charters;
Even the wild outlaw, in his forest-walk,
Keeps yet some touch of civil discipline.
For not since Adam wore his verdant apron
Hath man with man in social union dwelt,
But laws were made to draw that union closer."

—Sir Walter Scott, in "Ivanhoe"

What Gandhi could do for India or for himself on a visit to this country is very questionable. But he could do much for America! For this reason, if for no other, there must come a time when the great leader of the Indian people may come here and be received in honor and humility. More than any other man of whom we know, the Mahatma could teach the citizens of this country the meaning of the Christianity which they profess so loudly and practise so lightly. No Catholic nor Protestant, no churchman nor layman, in all our Christian world, has so revealed the secret and mastered the discipline of the religion of the Nazarene as this saintly Hindu. Though he is not himself a Christian, we should see in him, if he came to these shores, the first real Christian that most of us had ever beheld. Then Gandhi could tell us how to accomplish our reforms, how to overcome the enemies who betray us and enslave us, and thus win the liberties we crave. We know little to do now except to fight, and hate, and destroy by force and violence. But centuries ago a great prophet declared that progress is won "not by power nor by might, but by my spirit, saith the Lord," and the Mahatma is the living witness among us of this injunction. Again, Gandhi could remind us of the divine simplicities. His food and clothes, for example! These must be viewed against the background of traditional eastern life—also as a weapon in his leadership of an impoverished people against a wealthy empire. But fundamentally they are Gandhi's proclamation of the eternal truth that "the life is more than meat and the body than raiment." Lastly, there is the Mahatma's inner sanctity—his repose and strength and purity. One day out of every seven he gives to his "period of silence," when he communes not with any man, but with his own soul alone. Think of what it would mean to us Americans to be led from the hurly-burly of our outward distractions to the secrets of inner meditation and peace! Yes, Gandhi has much to teach us.

The MacDonald government in England has in many ways been a grievous disappointment. But, for all this, we rejoice that the Labor Cabinet seems once again firmly seated and thus likely to hold office for months to come. We want this government, among other things, to have full opportunity to enact Philip Snowden's taxation on land values. This would mark an epoch in the history of democratic England. Then, too, we feel that, in the present European turmoil and affright, MacDonald and his colleagues can be more safely trusted to lead the way to peace than any other party group in Parliament. Certainly it is only through the influence of British Labor that we can have any hope at all of agreement upon disarmament this coming year. But most important of all is the Indian situation. After years of excitement and months of despair, there is now at least a prospect of an agreement which will grant the Indian people what Gandhi has well called "the substance of independence." Whatever MacDonald's mistakes in the past, he is obviously the one man in England today to meet the Mahatma and find with him the way to peace. We have only to think of the only possible alternates—the unscrupulous cunning of Lloyd-George, the amiable weakness of Stanley Baldwin, the blind intransigence of Winston Churchill—to realize that it is MacDonald who must sit down at the round table with Gandhi, if the Indian crisis is not to slip or be hurled back into utter chaos. So we are putting by our criticisms and questions of British Labor, and praying for the continuance of this party in power for another six months at least. Government, as we know it today, is a weak reed everywhere. How badly it fumbles its chances, and how miserably it betrays its ideals! But, as governments go these days, the MacDonald administration must have our support and blessing.

One of the things that always amazes us is the way news appears and disappears in the newspapers. At one time the front-page is raging with excitement; then, within a few days, everything is as calm and silent as a summer sea. Take Russia, for example! A year ago all was sound and fury over religious persecutions. The press rang with denunciations of closed

churches, martyred priests, scattered congregations. The Soviets were deliberately destroying religion, and the Christian world should do something about it! Then, as quickly as the furor rose, it fell. Today there is never a word about religion in Russia. Yet does anybody imagine that conditions are any different in Moscow and elsewhere than they were a year ago, or have been for a decade past? If the Bolsheviki are seeking to uproot religion, they are as busy now as ever. But nobody says a word—and the newspapers have not a thing to report. Mexico furnishes another beautiful example! For years, during the Coolidge regime, affairs in Mexico were front-page stuff. American citizens were always being killed, American property destroyed, American rights trampled upon. War was again and again in the air. Now all this is changed. We cannot recollect having seen Mexico featured in the public press for months. Yet we have no doubt that conditions today are much the same as ever. The explanation of this phenomenon might well be the subject of a Ph. D. thesis. Are the news upheavals deliberately the work of the papers seeking avidly for sensation? Are propagandists at work, using the press for their own selfish purposes? Is the public to blame, in America as in ancient Athens being always concerned with "some new thing"? Who can say? The fact simply remains that what was news yesterday is no longer news today, and that a sudden turn is the one constant factor in publicity.

The progress of advertising on the radio is interesting—and also depressing. For a while we were told, in regard to any particular feature, that the program was offered thanks to the courtesy of this tooth-paste, or that shaving soap, or the other cigar. Then the announcement of indebtedness was tacked on at the end as well as intruded at the beginning. Later came the development of the announcement into description of the advertised article and a tribute to its merit. By this time the auditors were "on," and it was possible by skillful manipulation of the dials to get the program and at the same time avoid the tooth-paste talk. It is not at all difficult, for example, to tune in on "Amos 'n Andy" just at the moment when the announcer has finished his inanities about seeing your dentist and the dialogue is beginning, and of course it is easy to cut off the whole business on the instant the dialogue is done. Advertisers are now beginning to discover this fact, and therefore are now resorting to the device of interweaving their sales-talk with the feature program, whatever it may be. We were astonished the other night, as we were lazily listening to a dialogue, to discover all of a sudden that the comedians were talking about a certain cigar and how mild it was to smoke. If this keeps up, we shall probably have Amos and Andy talking to us before long not about Madam Queen or the Kingfish, but about their teeth and how they keep them white. It is not at all impossible that the playing of a Brahms symphony will suddenly be stopped while some announcer, or perhaps the conductor himself, tells us about the wonderful virtues of somebody's shoe-polish or somebody else's laxative. It may be argued, of course, that the radio listeners will never stand for this. But they *are* standing for it—the process has begun already! And think of the American public ever having allowed this greatest of modern inventions to be captured by the advertisers! It is not so in England, or Germany, or any truly civilized country. But here we take it for granted that nothing exists except for the purpose of enabling somebody to make some money, and so we say nothing while the channels of the air are occupied by the cheapest and most impudent tribe of money grubbers the world has ever known. If Americans had any sense, any intelligence, any courage, they would rise up in revolt against this outrage. But we see few signs of indignation. We have abandoned the beauty of our countryside to advertisers—why not the spaces of the sky!

It has long been a favorite idea of ours, more than once expressed in these columns, that churches should serve the great cause of free speech in this country by placing their auditoriums at the disposal of those who for any reason are denied opportunity to meet and talk. When a strike breaks out, for example, in some town or city, and the strikers are not allowed to assemble in public places or even in private halls, what better thing can the churches do than open their buildings and invite the strikers to gather before their altars? We have always insisted that the churches of America have it in their power by this method to end forever all suppression of civil liberty and thus vindicate the sacred First Amendment to the Constitution. Now comes a group of churches to see this point and act upon it! Thus in April the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church favorably considered and adopted a resolution providing that Methodist pulpits shall be tendered for public uses whenever and wherever the use of public buildings and places is denied to citizens who wish an opportunity for a peacable presentation of their side of a debatable public question. This is sober, simple, and straight to the point. It comes characteristically from New England, and of course from Methodists who have for years now been in the forefront of all enlightened Christian action on social questions. If Methodist ministers and congregations live up to the challenge of this resolution, free speech will be a reality rather than a tradition in this country. Our own belief is that the mere presence of this resolution on the books of the Confer-

ence will insure the opening of public buildings to those who want them.

America has not been conspicuous for the production of great scientists. Inventors, engineers, mechanicians, yes—but not pure scientists! The late A. A. Michelson, however, was a physicist to match achievement with any scientist of the modern world. His winning of the Nobel Prize was only a sealing, so to speak, of the verdict long since passed upon him by his accredited contemporaries in all countries. First among these, of course, is Einstein, who is properly among the first to acclaim the genius of Michelson. The German's world-shaking theory had its inception in the American's researches into the nature and speed of light. It was Michelson who measured the swift passing of the sunbeam, and who, until almost the day of his death, was laboring to correct with a minimum of error the exact figures of his calculation. It is probable that it was this scientist's intense absorption in his last experiment—the fascinating one which had to do with the flight of light through a mile-long vacuum tube—which hastened his death. When the stroke fell, like a hammer upon an anvil, he would not relinquish his task, but with his last conscious breath dictated the words which summarized his conclusions. There is something very noble about this way of dying, as there was something also very noble about Michelson's way of living. The passion for truth—is it not an essential part of religion, and who can say that these devoted scientists are not essentially religious men? As for us, the old controversy between science and religion becomes nothing other than a mockery in the face of such a man as Michelson. What he believed or did not believe, we do not know. But we know he touched the hand of God.

Habit Survivals

An area of outworn habit of which we are at last trying to be free is the custom of inflicting physical wounds and bloodshed in the settlement of social difficulties. This custom is a survival, belonging with the usages of the Inquisition. The rack and the thumbscrew, the cutting off of eyelids and then exposing a man to the direct rays of the sun, drawing, quartering, dismembering, tying to the hoofs of wild horses—not so different, these, from the use of poison gas and machine guns, save that gas and guns can kill their thousands at once. All these belong alike to a day when the use of such forms of physical force were believed to be necessary to survival.

But physical force changes its form. The camel, the ox-cart, the horse, the motor driven vehicle, the airplane. The runner, the stage-coach, the pony post, the mail train, the telegraph, the telephone, the wireless. Forces all, of transportation and communication, but they have changed their forms.

And there is another form of force besides physical force as we know it now. We refer to the force of understanding. The force of love. We are speaking of a form of physical force—that form of physical force known as love. For we must bear in mind that love is a physical force as well as a spiritual. It is not more immaterial or sentimental or mushy, if you permit the word, than the energy of the radio. Both are still unexploited forms of physical energy.

What is the spiritual? An attenuation of the physical. What is the physical? A crystallization of the spiritual? Atomic energy, both. Human understanding—love—is not sentimentality. It is a force in nature. It is a powerful faculty which we are just beginning to exercise as a social faculty. It was in us and of us all the time. In the processes of emergent evolution, we are just coming into its functionings. It is the literal sixth sense. Seeing, hearing, feeling, smelling and social awareness of others. Everyone recognizes those in whom this new sense is awake. Not merely embryonic, but quickened and functioning. A form of physical energy.

You know how recently Benjamin Franklin stood before the British Royal Society and told them that there was a new force of physical energy in the world, and they laughed at him. Nevertheless, electricity existed. In the West we have Millikan telling us of the presence of new rays. In the East we have had Michelson working in other undivined forms of energy. We have Einstein re-interpreting space and distance. We no longer burn such men at the stake or put them in chains. We listen to them. And we also have men, including some of the most widely known military men of the world, telling us that there is a form of physical force known as understanding, as love, which will settle social disagreements more effectually than the older physical forces resulting in torture and death. This force we use in families. Only the perverts kill one another in families because they disagree. We use this form of force in towns, we use it in states. Why not in nations. There is no more reason for the members of a nation to kill the members of another nation because of social disagreement, than there is for the members of a School Board or a Legislature to murder one another. Understanding, control, reason, intelligence, family and friendly love is a force which holds all of civilized society—save only the nations. The nations are still under the rule of brute habit. They are still using wounds and bloodshed, and the primitive forms of human energy, without interpreting to themselves that these implications are mere habit survivals.

Is it not strange that we can understand the little

gossip about ourselves—can interpret our individual habit survivals, and yet can pass by the great news that we are ignorantly permitting survival of the primitive custom of warfare, "the sum of all the villainies, the consummation of every evil that can come to man." The time is here to exchange internationally that old form of physical energy for another form of physical energy, whose rule in our individual lives already we know so well. Life is something other than that which we now know it to be. And our greatest light on life's meaning is that which most powerfully motivates everything that we know of individual living. When shall it emerge from the embryonic and motivate world living?

Professor Arthur Compton of Chicago University, winner of the Nobel Prize, says that as yet we know nothing of the powers of the human mind. Recently, the Chicago *Tribune* carried as its first page first column story, Dr. Compton's utterance that there is thought which is not cerebral. Only one-fifth of one hemisphere of the human brain as yet is functioning. What man is and will be we cannot dream. What are you and I doing with bombs and poison gas?

ZONA GALE.

Jottings

"The whole history of the world is filled with chapter after chapter of the failure to secure peace through either competitive arms or intimidation."—*President Hoover.*

We suggest that this sentence be inscribed in letters of gold upon the walls of the State, War and Navy Building in Washington.

At last somebody has been found to speak a good word for the tariff. But is this a good word for the tariff, or a bad word for Professor Dunham, of Harvard, who spoke it?

"Amos 'n Andy" have now won the applause as well as the attention of intellectuals. The next step, as in the case of "Krazy Kat," will be essays and books on the psychological, philosophical, ethical, and mystical implications of this radio feature.

The publicity expert who is managing the new campaign to "humanize" President Hoover, is a genius. His stories of the puppy-dog and the fried egg, also of the glass-jar and the peppermint sticks of candy, are perfectly adapted to the 13-year-old intelligence of the American public.

We get terribly mixed up on names. We have to take thought whenever we deal with Rufus Jones, Stanley Jones, and Stanley High, that we do not get these admirable men entangled with one another.

It is touching to see Mr. Curry (Tammany boss of New York) congratulating Mr. Koenig (Republican boss of New York) on the latter's twentieth anniversary of his party leadership. Mr. Koenig has meant a good deal to Tammany, and deserves the pleasant word.

J. H. H.

A Business Man Looks at Russia

In surveying the subject of Soviet Russia, I believe there are two major questions which we in America should constantly bear in mind. One is—*what does the Russian undertaking mean to the Russian people?* That of course is the principal question. The second one is—*How does, or will, the Russian experiment affect us in the United States?*

1. *First, as to the effect upon the Russian people.*

It may not be necessary at this time to point out the centuries of oppression which Russian people endured under the Czars. But it seems to me that one can not repeat too often that for the past seventeen years—ever since Russia took part in the World War—its people have not had a day of normal, tranquil life.

Three years of the World War, with a loss to Russia of something like two and a half million men. Then two revolutions in quick succession. Then the frantic efforts to get on its feet under the present regime, against great odds, and ostracised by all other countries. Then the famine, during which, so I was told, parents killed their babies and ate their flesh, going mad from hunger (with three millions lost). Then several years of terrible civil wars, the Red armies fighting on several fronts simultaneously, with the population living in constant dread, hiding in cellars and haystacks. All told Russia's loss was ten million in dead and disabled.

With civil wars finally over, the period of rehabilitation, of clearing up the debris, of reconstruction, set in. *Naked, poor, exhausted, ruined*—Russia undertook this gigantic task. It has been at it ever since, and such is its vitality and spirit, that the speed, the tempo of its development during the past two years has been astonishing the entire world.

Now it is true that its *5-Year-Plan* of industrialization and its revolutionary change in agriculture are of great significance to the world at large. But in thinking and talking about these, we seem not to concern ourselves overmuch with what all this has meant, and continues to mean, to the Russian people.

Ever since the October (1917) Revolution, the party in power has steadfastly held to its determination that the new Russia should become *not* just an-

other nation—another capitalistic empire—but an altogether different, an entirely new commonwealth. Its program called not only for the industrial development of the vast country, not only for sweeping agrarian changes, but it demanded a radical change in the very psychology of its people.

Walter Duranty recently cabled from Moscow that food and clothing is the chief concern of the Russian people today, though he added that despite this elementary worry, they are rapidly becoming the most politically-minded and socially-minded of any people in the world.

Now, when you add to all their difficulties and privations the necessity to change their habits, their thinking, their outlook, approach, aspirations—one begins to wonder as to the degree of patience and submission; of adaptability and endurance of human beings.

If you and I were asked tomorrow to change our notions and ideas; to tear away overnight all traditions, beliefs, convictions and habits; to give up our wealth, our businesses, the pursuit of riches; to change our educational system, our attitude toward family life, our belief in the supernatural; if we were asked to take our places in a new co-operative, non-competitive society and have everything prescribed and regulated for us by the government; if we were required to do all this, it would be no more than what the people in Russia are being required to do.

In the light of what the Russians had to endure during these past seventeen years, one can perhaps understand the eagerness with which these poor people are hoping that nothing will interfere with the reconstruction now going on. *They dread another war. They dread economic blockade. They dread a change of government.* They feel they *could not endure another change.* They would like the present regime to ease up on the speed, to ease up on the severe punishments; they want more food and clothing and houses, a greater supply of all sorts of commodities. They want the 5-Year-Plan to be finished, so that production of consumers' goods should begin to occupy greater thought of the government.

They are tired—*very, very tired* . . . and they hope that America and the other countries will stretch a friendlier hand, will extend greater credits, so as to make their lot a little easier. I am speaking of the people, remember, not of the government. For the attitude of the outside nations in not extending normal credits forces the Soviet government to export butter, eggs, cigarettes, tomatoes, everything and anything it can lay its hands on, not because it wants to deprive its people of these very necessities, not because it wants to do any so-called "dumping," but because without adequate credits, it is forced to do so in order to pay for machinery and equipment which it is buying abroad in such huge quantities—machinery which it *must have,* if Russia is not to depend upon foreign countries for so many manufactured goods needed by its people.

This, then, is the side as I see it of the Russian people—the one hundred and sixty million men, women and children whose fate it has been to suffer so intensely, and who are at this moment enduring privations such as it is impossible for the outsiders to believe.

To the Russian people, then, the carrying out of its program is a matter of life or death. To fail is for them to plunge once more into the horrible conditions of the past. To succeed is to take on a new breath of life, to have an easier, fuller, more peaceful existence upon this earth.

2. Now for the second question, *How does or will the Russian experiment affect us?* The outstanding effect upon us has been Russia's *challenge to our thinking.* Disturbing as it always is to face new situations, new problems, it is even more disturbing to have our traditions and convictions challenged. This is precisely what Russia has already done.

Many there are who won't hear or read anything about Soviet Russia—anything, that is, except the detrimental, the condemning reports. It is safe to say, however, that the world at large is secretly, if not openly, asking itself a lot of pertinent questions, such as:

Is our capitalistic society to endure? Is there anything to the Russian idea of a co-operative system and is it the *logical* successor to our competitive one? Will it bring about fuller, better results? Is private property *sacred?* Is money the only reward? Is acquisition an instinct, or are security and self-preservation the underlying motive of human endeavor? Will people work knowing that wealth cannot be accumulated? How much is a man entitled to if he happens to have exceptional ability—administrative, inventive, scientific, political? Is it moral for any one to amass wealth while others are hungry? Is it good or is it wicked to spend millions on a cathedral, instead of worshipping in a tent or the simplest kind of a building? What does God think of our efforts to be heard, to be forgiven, to secure a reserved seat in Heaven by our praying on Sunday and robbing and exploiting on all other days? And what about these border lines, these tariffs, these embargoes; these artificial barriers to trading and intercourse between the many nations? These Communists seem to be internationalists, they want the workers of the world to unite; they want to abolish wars. Are they on the right track? Can it be done? Will it work? Is not the world so interdependent that nations must get together and regulate their affairs, their production and distribution according to need?

More and more we are asking ourselves these and many other pertinent questions. Russia's daring attempt to reshape the structure of human society, plus the unhappy world-depression, makes us ponder seriously upon the big problem as to whether a different system is the absolute need. More than ever before in modern history we are becoming convinced that our civilization has failed, can no longer function satisfactorily.

Russia has thus thrown a challenge to our thinking, and we are no longer accepting as inevitable the ills and the maladjustments of our present conditions.

The unemployment problem must be solved, we are beginning to say; there *must* be a way to have work distributed for all. Russia, we see, has no unemployment today. Russia has dared to harness the resources of the country, to put production and distribution under a planned control. Russia has adopted a *six-hour* work day in chemical and mining industries; a *seven-hour* day in 43% of its other industries; and a maximum of *8 hours* in the remaining ones. Russia's definite programme is to keep on reducing the hours of

work. Since last year everyone gets six days of rest in every month.

Let us, I urge, study Russia more closely, more earnestly. A flood of new ideas, new practices, is there for us to observe, to weigh, to adopt for our own needs. There are minuses in Soviet Russia—but oh, so many pluses! We and the rest of the world would greatly benefit by emulating the good examples, modified, if need be, for our own use.

The ideas set forth by the American Declaration of 1776 have benefited the world. So will the Russian program and principles adopted after its 1917 revolution.

We are disturbed for the time being. We fear radical changes and we hate them. But we shall all have to go through the period of re-adjustment and eventually we shall be the better for having done so. *I think we should feel grateful to the Russians for pointing the way,* for suffering and enduring in the process, not only for the benefit of Russia but for the good of mankind, of future generations.

If the present attempt fails, we on the outside will profit—if we are wise—by seeing the mistakes they made. If on the other hand, Soviet Russia succeeds, we shall all profit by having a huge country, the largest of all, emerge as a civilized, up-to-date nation. For Russia of 1913, the backward, undeveloped Russia, was a negative quantity; its needs and commerce were negligible; the great mass of Russians lived in a primitive way and hardly needed anything beyond what they themselves produced and made in a primitive handmade fashion.

But the Russia of today, and especially the Russia of tomorrow, wants, and will want, everything that we require. Already millions of Russians have their eyes upon automobiles and all sorts of machinery and labor-saving devices; they want wrist watches and fountain pens, safety razors and kodaks; they want typewriters and adding machines and dictaphones; they want radios and frigidaires and electric appliances; they want silk stockings and lip sticks and latest fashions; they want fast trains, motorcycles and airplanes. They want everything we have.

With its tremendous birth rate Russia will soon have a 200 million population. What a potential market for us!

The Russian people are being educated, awakened. Their march of progress is a rapid one. Their tastes and demands are fast developing. These demands and requirements will have to be supplied. *Today Russia's shelves are empty, its factories and facilities are few.* It will take many years before Russia can produce bare necessities for its immense population. Russia needs us and will continue to need us as never before. Until such time as India and China will have also advanced to a higher level of living, Soviet Russia will be the largest customer on the face of the globe, a customer eager to buy and requiring no high pressure salesmen to coax it into buying.

I believe, therefore, that from the standpoint of commerce a developed, civilized Russia will be of immense benefit to us, and should be welcomed and helped rather than feared. Look at the world map! Behold Russia, China and India with a population of some nine hundred and ten millions of people, to say nothing of those in the Balkan States, in Africa and South America. Now see these countries awakened. See India demanding freedom. See China determined to open a new page in its history. And Russia as a vivid example to both in the march of emancipation!

With all these countries becoming modernized—what a market for all the commodities the industrial countries can manufacture! Surely common-sense would tell us that it is to our own benefit to have the cultural level of other nations raised as high as possible. The world is suffering not from overproduction but from underconsumption. We need larger markets and we can't sell to undeveloped, backward countries.

Russia, as I said, is the first of these backward countries to have made a start, to want things. It is bad business to keep it down.

So much for the business side of the problem.

If the Russian experiment succeeds, if it shows that a co-operative society, with its *planned national control* and program, can produce immensely better results than under our existing system, then again we shall profit by having learned from Russia a better way.

Suppose Russia will have done away with unemployment. Suppose Russia will have proven to the world that its state and co-operative farming on a gigantic scale and conducted as grain factories can free the farmer from his endless toil and can produce grain cheaper than we—will not humanity benefit by this innovation?

What if we have to adjust ourselves and adopt new ways? It will be but another important step in the evolution of our civilization—a logical step as a result of this machine age.

The world today is ill and groping. Every phase of our social life—the family, the church, the training of children, the relations between Capital and Labor—everything seems to be in a state of flux. We are restless, dissatisfied, conscious that things are not as they should be.

Socialism, if achieved, will not prove to be the final solution. No system can be final. But, if what Russia has been so bold and courageous to attempt will have proved to be a step in advance,—will not the future historians acclaim this period of Russia's endeavor as one of the most momentous in the history of mankind?

My own firm opinion is that they will. This opinion is not shared by everyone. There are those who see Soviet Russia only as a menace, a country bent upon destroying the world's markets. Naturally my own conviction prompts me to regard such fear as childish and preposterous. Time alone will show. In the meantime I urge calm thinking and sane, intelligent appraisal of all phases of this gigantic and absorbingly interesting development.

I urge immediate recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States. I urge an extension of credits. England, Germany and Italy saw fit to guarantee to its manufacturers up to 75% of their sales to Soviet Russia. Why don't we do it? Russia has not failed to pay a single bill during the past thirteen years. Its government is the strongest and most stable in Europe.

Civilization stands for ability to get along with others. Every effort should be made to get along with Russia, as with all other countries.

However much we may feel disturbed by Russia's

ways and tactics—we cannot ignore Russia, we must be on speaking terms with it and trade with it on a progressively larger scale.

No peace in Europe, no definite improvement in the economic condition in Europe or here, can be achieved by ostracizing the largest of all nations.

Let us fear less and act more sensibly. This is my plea!

MARK H. DIX.

A Free American Looks at India

VIII—Cow-Worship and Sex

There is cow-worship in Mysore, a part of the state-religion. The prince worships the state-cow daily. Last August he worshipped the cow, the horse and the elephant, ten days running, in the palace. I saw the state-cow in her stable, with her own private bull and her calf near by. The keeper of the cow, when I came in, began to manipulate the tail of the animal and stroke the flesh beneath the tail. With a kind of religious pride he pointed to the animal's private-parts and said: "That is God."

I did not get into an argument with him on the subject. We have here a problem of backward evolution, the sex-factor which is mixed up with the worship of the god Shiva, something which is probably mixed-up in the religion of all primitive peoples. We are dealing here in Mysore with a community which only put an end to human sacrifice not longer ago than the middle of the eighteenth century. Evolution goes slow.

It all hangs together with despotism, monarchy, one-man rule. The portrait of the prince is placed in the temple next to the portraits of the gods. Here the three-stick-Brahmin-priest told me about Hanuman, the "biggest god," who lived 5,000 years back. That was in the days of the giants. The giants had ten heads and twenty hands, etc.

But how about prostitution? I told Govinda to take me to the house of some of the dancing-girls. We arrived at a place where there were some old women, which didn't seem to be what I was looking for, but in the next place there was a young girl who obviously belonged to the *demi-monde* of Mysore. She was somewhat sad-looking but not unattractive, with none of the intriguing ways which characterize women engaged in the same line of business in the west. Govinda did the best he could to find dancing-girls for me, but the results were not brilliant, and not knowing the language I was deprived of the pleasure of talking with the one young woman whom I saw and who was somewhat shy and retreating. In Udaipur I passed a group of dancing-girls who were marching through the town with music and who had some perfume on their clothes. Before leaving India I hope to get closer to the dancing-girl question, but so far I have not found that the smell of immorality is so pungent in India as it is on a Paris boulevard or in the Moulin Rouge, as I recollect that place years back.

The sex-question is not an unattractive question to discuss, provided it is discussed in the right way. Some writers have gone into it and stirred up a row about the horrible, shocking immorality which exists in India. I do not get anywhere exactly that exaggerated impression. No progress is to be made by arguing that the Occidental system of prostitution is superior to the Oriental system, or *vice versa*. I have no *parti pris* on the subject. In the west there is a white-slave traffic. In the east there is a brown-slave traffic. You can take your choice.

A writer could pass through India and hang up all kinds of disgusting pictures with regard to what goes on in the country. That could be done anywhere. Some people have a genius for that kind of writing.

The point in India is to put the blame where the blame belongs for keeping the people in an appalling state of ignorance. A book could be made which, by pandering to the morbid, *blazé* appetites of a certain class of western readers, might result in much notoriety as well as profit to its author. Such a book could successfully camouflage the real moral criminals now operating in India.

In fact such a book was written. A writer came from America to India and wrote a book in which all the rotten spots in Hinduism, real or fanciful, were pointed out. The writer spent much time in getting permission from authorities in London to make the "investigations." The necessary avenues were opened in the most friendly way, so that on arriving in India things could be sifted to the very bottom. Once in India, the filtering system was put in operation. All the good things were filtered out from all the bad things. All the normal things were filtered out from all the abnormal things. It was a scrupulous job and a finely purified poison was obtained.

A series of *tableaux* was presented, more or less filthy because designed with the purpose of shocking and disgusting the public opinion of the west against the people of India. Forms of perversion are described page after page in such a way as to make a mass of uncritical-minded readers believe that one-sixth part of the human race living in India are moral idiots. Of actual personal knowledge of the things alleged there is not a trace. The "investigations" turn out to be based on such gossip and hearsay as anybody can pick up gratis in hotels, railway stations or in such advertisements in newspapers as deal with sex-pathology and secret vices. When such sources ran dry, old sex-materials were rehashed out of a reservoir compiled over a hundred years ago by a French-Catholic missionary to India, named DuBois, who seems to have devoted more time to collecting sub-normal sex data than to preaching the gospel.

The book was received in England with the greatest enthusiasm and appreciation. It came in the nick of time. It was distributed free to all the members of the British parliament, at the expense of the government. Its exposures and revelations were discussed in every drawing-room. The superiority-complex of John Bull derived a comfortable feeling from knowing how terribly rotten, depraved and degenerate the people of India really were. It was also comforting to know that India's rottenness had been exposed by the pen of an American, a "neutral," a member of a sister-nation for whose opinion nothing but the highest respect could be felt in England.

As for the morbid section of society on both sides

of the Atlantic (people whose interest in morbid subjects outweighs their interest in political subjects), the book came as a new spice, a new thriller. Morbid people in one part of the world always like to know what morbid people on the other side of the world are doing. Hence the book was one of the best-sellers. Nothing runs so fast or sells so well as this kind of scandal, when it is skillfully covered over with a veil of respectability.

The people in India do not get enough to eat to make them fit to enter into a sex-competition with people who have more to eat and drink than they need. There is nothing in India which can hold a candle to the sex-epidemic which today, in countries well supplied with beef, pudding and beer, is ravaging the book-stalls, theatres, movie-palaces, night-clubs, day-clubs, apothecary-shops and centers for the distribution of birth-control apparatus.

The modern Babylon is not located in India. What is depressing here is not the sex-sickness which afflicts idle and effete aristocracies and their entourage. It is the absence, so it seems to me, in the religion of the common, lowly people, of any great human reality.

EDWARD HOLTON JAMES.

Oppressed Indians at Home!

California's Indians are suing the Federal Government within the next few months. Their claim is now before the Court at Washington and it ranks as one of the most unique cases in history.

Never before has a vanquished people sued its conquerors for the land and liberty taken from it. Egypt, Babylon, Ninevah, built their glory on the spoils of wars, and that was the last of it.

Jerusalem became a Roman province; the Greeks, Gauls, Britons, were all forced to become subjects of the great Empire, and although the Caesars' tribunal formulated laws which have endured in the occidental world until today, that is one it never dreamed of—of permitting any nation to sue it for indemnity for capture and pillage.

It has been left for the United States Government to do this thing for the first time. Two or three small, isolated groups of Indians have sued it at different times during the past few years, but the present instance has no parallel.

Those eighteen "lost treaties," negotiated in 1851-1852 between Government representatives and the California Indians, are the cause of the trouble. The Indian chiefs, four hundred of them with their head men, affixed their thumbprints to the paleface documents brought them from the Great Father of the country, and then they passed around their pipe of peace. All was to be well with them henceforth.

Something went wrong though, and the white men, in taking over the rest of California, took also those eighteen pieces of land that were to have been reserved "in perpetuity" for the Indians' use.

Furthermore, the several items of merchandise which had been mentioned in the treaties were never heard of again! Thus it came about that these people who had never been nomadic, who had lived for hundreds of years in the same little villages beside a stream or on the shore of some lake, now became a nation without a home, wanderers on the face of an earth they could no longer understand.

Theirs had been the simple life of the stone-age—how were they to grasp the intricacies of a civilization which solemnly signed pacts only to forget them the next day? All they did grasp was that more and more palefaces appeared and scoffed at the idea of setting aside land for their use—land that might hold in its soils and rocks the precious metal the paleface loved so well—they appeared with guns and whips and scattered the Indians.

The Indians heard something about gold having been discovered in their country, but they were not interested—gold was not as useful as abalone shells—why should its presence mean death to them and their children?

Most of California was at one time held by the Spaniards through grants from the King of Spain and these early pioneers lived amicably with the Indians. They made hundreds of the redmen their peons, exacting of them labor and tribute, but the country had seen no wars prior to the coming of Sutter, Kit Carson and their ilk. Also, in the treaty in which Mexico (in the meantime it had come into possession of California) ceded that land to the United States, it was stipulated as one of the articles of agreement *that the newly arrived Americans were positively to settle only on such territory as was not occupied by the Indians!*

The California Indian of today claims that his people kept their part of the pact signed in 1851-1852 with the Great Father's representative, and that gradually, through the failure of the other party to keep its part, his people have dwindled from two hundred thousand to twenty thousand. Now he can wait no longer.

Through the Attorney-General of California, Mr. U. S. Webb, he is asking for $12,800,000 indemnity. This is for the 8,800,000 acres of land in the eighteen different reservations, "duly described by metes and bounds" in the treaties. Also included in this sum is $1,800,000 for the sundry goods and services promised but never delivered.

According to that old contract the Indians were to have received blankets, horses, mules, oxen, cows, harnesses, plows, hoes, picks, shovels, seeds, iron, steel, trousers and shirts for the men, calico and cotton for the women and children, thread, needles, thimbles, scissors and grindstones.

Besides this, it is alleged, the United States further agreed to furnish each of the reservations with a man skilled in the business of farming, a blacksmith, and an expert in wood-working (wagon-maker or rough carpenter), a supervisor and school teachers, all to live among and teach the Indians. Too, school houses, hospitals, cottages and any other buildings necessary for the welfare of the redmen and their white instructors, were to have been erected and maintained on each reservation at the expense of the Government.

According to the present Act, the amount of any judgment awarded the Indians of California is to be placed in the Treasury of the United States to their credit and to be thereafter subject to appropriation by Congress for the education, health, industrial enter-

prises, and other benefits for them, unless otherwise determined by a later Congress.

But it would appear further that about 14,000 of the 20,000 plaintiffs in this suit are not quite satisfied with what is being done for them through the office of the Attorney General, and so have organized themselves into a group and have retained three of the foremost lawyers of their state to prepare amendments to the suit, as well as to supplement the efforts of the Attorney General in the preparation and prosecution of it.

These amendments convey that $12,800,000 is not a sufficient sum to ask (this sum was set by the Attorney General of California, and not by the Indians), that according to Congressional records the state lawmakers of 1852 appraised the land they were assigning as reservations as not worth less than $100,000,000, and that the $1.25 an acre being asked (which is about one-tenth the original appraised value and is not taking into consideration anything of the enormous increase in property values since that date) is not just.

The Indians claim the Attorney General has not asked for "an amount equal to the just compensation provided for or proposed for the Indians in those certain unratified 18 treaties." They point out, also, that the valuation (at the prices of 1852) of the many animals and articles of merchandise, as well as the services promised them, far exceeds $1,800,000. These articles, they state, were in exchange for the 14,000,000 acres of California they agreed to surrender to the Government, and it means that the valuation now placed on this land is less than twelve and a half cents an acre!

Two hundred thousand white men rushed into California in '49, '50, '51 (says one of the Indian leaders). They demanded the whole state as a prospecting ground, and my people became homeless wanderers. It was the gold taken from our land which enabled the Government at Washington to win the Civil War and thus cement the Union of the United States.

My people had expected a secure title to the lands reserved for them in return for this whole region which had been given them by the Great Spirit so many thousands of years before, but it was not to be. Now, they do not ask that the present titles be disputed—it is too late to give us the land now, but we were once a proud, peaceable and happy people. Today we are scattered, our spirit is broken.

We have never wandered far, for an Indian will not leave his dead, but we are weary,—we want land that is our own. We want to build our homes and to know that we are secure. One of my father's brothers built nine homes for himself and his family only to be ejected from each of them. We want to educate our children, also, and how can we do that when we are homeless, penniless wanderers?

HELEN R. CRANE.

Trumpets on New Horizons

Mothers' Cry

Shall we lavish all our sons
To be gorged by all the guns?
Shall the dreaming of our years
Spill in scalding drops of tears?
Shall each column that departs
Trample into pulp our hearts?
Shall our glories and desires
End, entangled on barb-wires?
This our youth's rewards; the hells
Of the lurid shrapnel-shells?
This the medals for their best:
Bullets spattering their breast?
Let us rise, each kindled mother
(Does each not rehearse the other)
Mothers, let this threat be hurled
At the war-lords of the world:
"When your call for murder runs,
No more sons! No more sons,
Till dismantled all the guns!"

LOUIS GINSBERG

Trees

Georgia has lovely tree, oaks, elms . . .
Alabama is proud of her trees . . . big trees with beautiful limbs.
Texas has tall pine and big oaks . . . Texas
Is proud of her trees . . .
The South is proud of its trees—
So—she uses them to swing niggers!

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD

Dance of Death

"Ten, eleven, twelve!" the sable bells are dirging.
Where the sextons delve, what is it you hear surging, urging?
Rattle, rattle, thump! What is it now comes creeping
Bleached and parched of blood? Be deaf, be blind to leaping!
High and ghoulish thin, the smirking, barebone master
Plays his violin. While loud the drum and faster . . .
Rat-a-tat-a-boom! Now all the graves are hollow.
Hear the crack of doom! And who are these that follow?

Dread as corpse that rots and bleak as bones that moulder
Or pestilence that blots repose from reasons colder,
Ghastlier far than skull you might discover floating
Where domestic, dull, you thought a loved face doting,
March no peaceful dead, no neatly, cozily dying,
But—more cause for dread, and reaping longer crying!—
The hopeless folk, the lost, the live who've not been living,
Those who pay the cost of all our lavish giving,
Those who feed the few with their own lives that crumble.
Now accusing you, from tenement-tombs, they mumble, rumble!

Wilder, fiercer flood the notes that Death is playing.
Every note is blood, a drop that's stinging, flaying.
See his fingers hold no harmless church yard trifle
Of bone embossed with mould but modern army rifle
As bow of violin on which he's madly scraping
Dance of greed and sin, of robbery and raping.
Cripple, beggar, bum, they tread a grim cotillion.
What the pitiless drum to which the many million
Overworked and underpaid, like birds of broken pinion,
Drag on, tired, afraid? America's dominion!

Who are grisly Death's dependable lieutenants
Hastening final breaths and rearing bloody pennants?
Crooks at whom you've sneered for being mean and callous?
Yes, and men revered, respectability's chalice:
He of ready sneers, conventional professor,
Thinking the pioneer's impertinent digressor;
Churchmen who intone, while wielding golden crozier,
Fires of hell alone can make new ways seem rosier;
Pompous judges, bought, and all the gilded haters,
Scorning rebel thought, and all of life's beraters,
All the skeptic cynics,
Knowing only clinics,
All the worldly wise,
Perpetuating lies,
And all the men of war
And more, more, *more*
Crowning mere machines throughout our monster nation,
Giving most of our means to further consternation,
Lifeless things and dead and all too slowly dying . . .
Shall we stand in dread or rise in bold defying?

Down our every street the Dance of Death goes faster.
Will it know defeat or do we face disaster?
Is Death Master?

RALPH CHEYNEY

Thoughts of Tolstoy

[*Selections from Tolstoy's "Reading for Every Day," here published for the first time in English*]

CXI

1.

A truthful word is stronger than the popes and archbishops and kings and rich men of all the world.

2.

They may kill him who speaks the truth; but once the truth has been spoken it remains.

3.

Prayer is reminding yourself of the eternal truth, verifying your life by this divine truth. It is well to make this verification when you are alone with God, but it is still better if you can do it on meeting with people, in the turmoil of worldly life.

4.

However seductive falsehood and all its snares may be, there comes a time when they so torment a man, that he—not in order to seek the truth, but only to rid himself of all the confusion inseparable from falsehood—turns to truth and finds in it his only salvation.

5.

"He who loves Christianity more than truth, proceeds to love his creed or sect more than Christianity, and ends in loving himself more than all on earth," said Coleridge. This is true because we love Christianity only inasmuch as we love the truth; and therefore the truth cannot be verified or confirmed by anything—but all things are verified and confirmed by truth alone.

6.

Truthfulness is not a virtue, but without it there is no virtue whatsoever, and every virtue becomes a vice.

7.

In order that people should live together in harmony, they should know how to tell each other the truth, how to say that which they truly know, which they have really experienced or felt, and not that which they have invented or which seems true to them. It is more profitable and more joyous to live with many others than to live alone; hence it is a great thing for the welfare of men to know how to speak the truth and to be in the habit of doing so. And every man should strive to train himself to speak only the truth, to speak the truth always and in all things. When you do not know—be silent. And say only that which you surely know. It costs nothing to be truthful, but without truthfulness, men cannot live well.

8.

Reason is one in all men. Communion among men is founded on reason. Hence the demands of that reason which is one for all are obligatory on every man.

9.

In man there is nothing more precious, more necessary to him, than the light of reason. What an amazing thing it is that men, in addition to all the passions that act upon the soul and weaken the light of reason, also make use of drugs that act directly upon the brain—the organ of reason—in order to weaken its light.

CXII

1.

Much of the evil in the world exists, not so much because people fail to do good, as because they do what is unnecessary or out of season.

"To know how to refrain, we must train ourselves to this. A sage of ancient times taught it thus:

"Work for a while on a hot day, and when you feel thirsty, take a mouthful of cold water, and without swallowing a single drop, spit it forth. And above all, do not tell any one of this."

2.

It is more precious than anything on earth to refrain from an evil deed when passion has mastered you.

3.

Serve the common welfare, do the work of love; do this above all by an effort of self-restraint: now you refrain from a deed that was not bad, but was superfluous; now you keep yourself from saying a little word that might have offended a person. All these are tiny, unnoticeable deeds and words, but from these mustard seeds will grow the tree of love, which covers the whole world with its branches.

4.

It is well to praise activity and blame idlenesss in men who are working to satisfy the needs of their own bodies and those of other people's bodies.

But in men who are occupied with such empty things as theatres, concerts, exhibitions, daily papers, the news, and with all sorts of evil things such as luxury, fine clothes, courts, armies—in such people activity is a vice and inaction a virtue.

5.

How true is the saying: "When in doubt, refrain." I consider this is a wise, Christian rule. It is the same as Lao-Tse's "the highest virtue is inaction." I understand this to mean that all our sins arise from our doing, and doing for ourselves, that which we might have refrained from doing. Only that which we cannot refrain from doing is God's work, the work he does through us. Even if a man refrained from all personal work of his own, there would still be a work from which he could not refrain, and this would be the work of God. If a man does his own works, because of them and their turmoil, he does not see the works of God, nor come to know them.

Hence you should act only when you cannot refrain, when you cannot keep from acting.

6.

The most insignificant little things help to form character. Do not say that these little things are of no account, but remember that to refrain from them is a great and important matter, because out of little things there is pieced together a great thing—the whole life of man.

7.

Very busy people are for the most part very irritable. And, strange as it may appear, they often increase the number of their tasks, in order to have an excuse for irritability.

CXIII

1.

In the lives of the saints there is a story of how a venerable monk dreamed that he saw, in the very best place in Heaven, a monk who in life had been weak. He asked what this unworthy monk with his many weaknesses had done to merit such great felicity, and was answered, "Because in life he judged no one."

2.

Remember that a word is a deed, distinguished from other deeds by the fact that it is less evident to us what will result from it. Hence be careful about accepting words, and uttering them.

3.

What a bad habit it is to begin with a joke when you meet a man. God is in man, and you cannot joke with God. When you meet a man, always speak to him in all seriousness.

4.

Though the speaker be mad, let the listener be wise.

A soft answer turns away wrath, an offensive word arouses it.

5.

Try to stop judging people and you will experience a feeling like that of a drunkard who has given up wine or a smoker who has abandoned tobacco—the same peculiarly pleasant feeling of cleanness, and at first the same occasional longings to return to the bad habit that has been abandoned.

CXIV

1.

The greater part of the evil men do is done, not because men are evil, but because they have accepted on trust and believed the false thoughts of others. We should be guarded in accepting other people's thoughts.

2.

If we understood more clearly and kept more fully in mind that the fact that our chief power lies in thought, much evil would be destroyed in the world and much good increased.

3.

As we only hear the sound of the shot, after the ball has left the cannon, so the evil deeds of the world are only apparent to us long after the appearance of those thoughts which gave rise to them. All human deeds, good or bad, arise from thoughts.

4.

Feeling arises independently of man's will; but thought either approves or disapproves feeling, and stimulates or retards it accordingly. Hence everything depends on thought.

5.

People usually think that the betterment of human life lies in increase of knowledge and in the consequent increase of the comforts of life. This is quite wrong. The betterment of human life lies only in making the answers to life's chief questions clearer and clearer. Truth is always accessible to man. This could not be otherwise, for truth is already contained in the human soul. Truth, like gold, is to be obtained not by its growth, but by washing away from it all that is not gold. The only thing is to remove from the truth which lies hidden in man's soul, all that darkens it. The betterment of man's life lies not in the increase of truth, but in the liberation of truth from that which covers it. This liberation is accomplished by effort of thought.

6.

Thoughts are like guests. We are not to blame for the kind of thoughts, good or bad, that come to us. But it is within our power to drive away the bad and keep the good.

7.

The seed is unseen in the ground, but from it alone the huge tree grows. A thought is just as imperceptible, but from it alone grow the greatest events in human life.

(To be concluded)

The Study Table

Book Reviews by John Haynes Holmes

Revolution and Religion

This book* is a stirring, a startling document. The author, well known as the managing editor of the *Christian Century,* intends it to be so. He is tired of the namby-pamby way of handling the problem of the church in the modern world, and insists that we wake up and see this world for what it is, and the church for what it is, and also is not. What Mr. Hutchinson sees is a world in revolution.

Look at the word as it actually is (he writes). Was there ever before a period in which revolution—complete, smashing revolution—was as prevalent, using that word not only in its geographical sense, but in the sense of penetrating even the most sheltered nooks and crannies of human life? . . . Revolution (he continues) is a smashed, overturned, pulverized world. No other understanding of the word is sufficient for our present needs. For the next hundred or two hundred years the world will be in the grip of revolution. This may sound like an attempt to write sensationally, to run down the streets of our comfortable American neighborhood shouting "Fire! fire!" I hope that it does, for that is precisely what I am trying to do.

Contemplating this basic fact of revolution, Mr. Hutchinson finds the forces of chaos at work in at least five different fields.

First, there is the political revolution, which is changing not only the map of the world, but also all accepted ideas of democracy, parliamentary government, nationalism, and the state.

Secondly, there is the industrial revolution, which began with the creation of capitalism, and is now casting this same capitalism into the crucible. The machine is in process of destroying what it first created.

Thirdly, there is the social revolution, which is shifting the relationships of classes, undermining the foundations of authoritarian morality, and transforming all accepted codes of custom and convention.

Fourthly, there is the racial revolution, which is challenging the white man's supremacy, and forcing him, as a condition of his own survival, to make terms

*"World Revolution and Religion," by Paul Hutchinson. Published by the Abingdon Press. $2.00.

with the tinted and so-called "backward" peoples of the earth.

Lastly, there is the religious revolution, which is forcing the church, in Islam as well as in Christianity, to confront "the dissolution of its old orthodoxies. . . . The old shibboleths, for which our fathers fought so furiously and sometimes burned each other with such relish, mean nothing on our lips."

Describing each one of these revolutions in a series of thrilling chapters, characterized by courage and clear thought, the author raises the question of organized religion in the midst of this chaos, and is forced to the startling conclusion that the churches in every country are identified with the classes, the interests, the ideas which are being definitely and finally overthrown by the creative forces of the strange new world now building upon the ruins of the old world. He accepts the story of Russia during the past decade as the parable for all the rest of humankind in this generation. The Russian church supported, and drew its power and pomp from the Tsar and his government. In the vast upheaval of 1917 and after, this church cast in its lot with the Tsar. With the fall of the royal regime, therefore, came the fall of the church, and today we see the triumph of a new regime which knows Christianity only to hate and to destroy it. So with the rest of the world—in England as in Russia, in China as in England! Organized religion is on the side of the ruling and possessing classes, which by the same token are the classes doomed this day to overthrow. Unless the churches swiftly discover the essential significance of their gospel and shift their allegiance to the people, their doom is as certain as that of the dead and decaying social order which they serve.

Is there any prospect of the churches recovering their spiritual leadership in time, and therewith giving us guidance in this chaos, and incidentally saving themselves? Mr. Hutchinson frankly sees none. The churches are now a part of the established order, and thus, like all the rest of this order, destined to crumble and disappear before the impact of revolution.

> The churches which we know will, if they survive at all, do so merely as the custodians of that impulse to render tribute to social good form which is always to be found among the privileged classes in a community.

The churches will last, in other words, only as long as these classes last.

But these churches will pass only to be succeeded by "a new and greater church." Religion, that is, is imperishable and must in the new age seek new forms. This new church will not deal with theological ideas or ecclesiastical relationships. Rather will it deal with social and cultural realities. "It will not be a church of one continent, or one race, or one creed," says Mr. Hutchinson.

> It may not be called by any of the titles that we know, not even by that title which seems very sacred to us, Christian. But it will be composed of those seeking and courageous souls in all our lands who, in response to mankind's deepest and immortal urge, go out to do battle with all that is false and inimical to human development, and who likewise go out passionately to find God.

Mr. Hutchinson writes that a "religion that deals with men on the basis of freeing them from their various oppressions, can stir our souls to the depths." If this is a test, Mr. Hutchinson's book is an authentic forecast of the new religion, for it does just this stirring thing.

Nudity

There seem to me to be a lot of things in the world more important than the nudist movement. It may be all well and good to teach people to go around naked, but I can't seem to get a bit excited about the matter. The people described in this book* seem to have taken up the cause as something like a life mission, which is their inalienable right, especially when they so scrupulously observe the amenities of established society and the prejudices of their more conventional neighbors. But until war is abolished, poverty ended, disease conquered, industrial democracy established, and justice generally done, I cannot feel that the question of bare skins has relatively any large importance. I certainly have no hostility to these people —if they want to run about in the open without the protection even of fig-leaves, I see no objection in such safely secluded haunts as have been provided for them in Europe. On the other hand I have no enthusiasm for these people; on the contrary, I feel about them much as I do about numerologists and food-faddists. In heaven's name, in such a world as this, let's be busy with things that really count!

As to whether this nudist movement will ever amount to anything, I have my very substantial doubts. For one thing, among many others, there is the matter of climate. It must never be forgotten that clothes are worn not for reasons of modesty, nor on the other hand for reasons of eroticism, as this book more than once suggests, but for sheer protection against nature's icy blasts. But more important is the question as to how many people could stand nudism from the aesthetic point of view. This book is constantly talking not only about health but about beauty. The illustrations show many attractive glimpses of Apollo and the nymphs. But how many men are Apollos—and how many women are nymphs? Personally we can imagine no aesthetic nightmare quite so terrible as an open-air parade of the population in "the altogether." I think we would all forget modesty before such a spectacle, and rush to our clothes for the sake of hiding ugliness as soon and as completely as possible. It needed not the modernists in painting and sculpture to tell us that the human body, in its normal civilized state at least, is neither "a thing of beauty" nor "a joy forever." All most of us have needed is our own bath-tubs to teach us this awkward truth. No, clothes are serviceable. They save us from a thousand shocks. Like the nation, we need protection.

These things being decently said, I hasten to record my great respect for the authors of this book. They have done a difficult task with seriousness, delicacy, and good taste. Visiting various nudist colonies in Germany and France, they record not only what they saw but also what they experienced, for they themselves became practitioners of the cult. They testify that, in all these centers, everything was done decently and in order, and that health, gayety and beauty were the accepted standards of life. I wish that certain other topics had been discussed—the economics of the movement, for example. But the book is an excellent piece of work just as it stands. The illustrations are inoffensive—certain of them beautiful. An enthusiastic introduction is contributed by John Langdon Davies. A closing chapter discusses "America and Nudity."

*"Among the Nudists" by Frances and Mason Merrill. Published by Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

Correspondence

The Coming World-Struggle

Editor of UNITY:

"What!" says the alarmed reader, "another war?" Yes. In 1914-18 we were often reminded that 16 nations participated, but in the coming *last great war to end war* there will be more than 50 countries which will play their parts. In all the wars of the past the issue has always been doubtful at the beginning because neither side has been wholly in the right; there has generally been as much wrong as right on either side. When, for instance, in 1861-65 the boys of the Blue and the Grey opposed each other each was imbued with the conviction that he was fighting in a sacred cause: in the one case the preservation of the Union and the liberation of the slaves, and in the other the right of self-determination of States.

It was even so with the Khakis and the Field-Greys of 1914-18. You poor Gold-Star mothers! I can assure you that those German boys who shot down your sons, as well as those German mothers rendered desolate by your sons, were just as firmly convinced that the Russians and French had conspired to rob them of their beloved Fatherland, and that you Americans and we British were deluded into supporting their enemies. The impartial history of the future will show that there were as much fraud and deception on the one side as on the other. Yet each side arrogantly claimed God as its ally! Every warring nation has done so since before Tacitus wrote *Deus fortioribus semper adest.* Cynically expressed, this is not really true; for carnal war being sin, a holy and pure God can have no part in it. The most that can be said on this point is that God *allows* one side or the other to win, but that He *helps* them to do so is an erroneous idea; He stands aloof and views both sides with equal displeasure. The celebration of *Te Deums* in cathedrals on the occasion of victories is a veritable mockery of the Christian religion whose Founder taught us to forgive our enemies and, as He did, to suffer rather than to inflict suffering. It is as perverse to thank God for the winning of a battle as it would be to thank Him for success at the gambling tables. As said an English soldier to a canteen girl: "Missie, when the chaplain was gassin' about this 'ere bloody war bein' Christian an' the angels bein' on our side an' all that; blimey! I thought I heerd God laff! . . . O you can do some killin' when you've bin born again!"

In 1914 there were madmen who callously assured us that the war would be good for trade and would solve the unemployment problem. There were then some hundreds of thousands out of work. *Today there are approximately eighteen millions of unemployed.* This is divine chastisement. *"Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceedingly small."*

In the coming world-struggle now imminent everybody will be compelled to participate and I want you men and women (especially the women) to enlist on *the right and victorious side.* In this cause *God is absolutely with us;* for we are absolutely right and the enemy is absolutely wrong, and consequently there is not a shadow of doubt about the issue. Don't join the forces of Hatred, Envy, Malice, and Greed; if you do, you will certainly be on the losing side. Though there is an unprincipled and powerful international clique, there is no nation of any size and importance whose people, unprovoked, desire aggressive war or would make an unprovoked attack upon an unoffending neighbor. The sole cause of the present grave war danger lies in unjust treaties, unfulfiled obligations, unfair treatment of racial minorities, and particularly in the tremendous power of modern armaments supported by literary propaganda which makes ordinary human beings appear as devils incarnate.

Besides the hundreds of thousands of laymen who have sworn to refuse military service in future, there are about 5,000 ministers of religion of all denominations who have pledged themselves henceforth to expose and denounce from their pulpits the nefarious tactics of the war-mongers, and refuse to serve as army chaplains, however disagreeable to themselves may be the consequences of such action. And quite recently our ranks have been reinforced by the adhesion of a considerable number of American ministers, mostly Presbyterians.

Thus, from the world's standpoint, we are already no negligible quantity. Ere long we shall be *formidable.* Meanwhile let us begrude no sacrifice that brings us nearer to our destined goal.

A famous European savant who visited America recently said: "It is time that all friends of peace and brotherhood cease talking and writing and *begin to act.*" "Let us then be up and doing." I would like to invite every reader of this to communicate with me, when I shall be delighted to suggest to him or her a choice of ways in which they may participate *to win the war to end war forever.*

May God bless our efforts to hasten the day when
O'er all her foes victorious,
Peace on her throne shall rest,
From age to age more glorious,
All blessings, by all blessed.

ARTHUR LEE DELISLE, Ph.D.

(Author of *The Story of the Red Cross Movement* and other works; in early life a friend of the venerable Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross.)

Budapest, Hungary

The Field

(*Continued from page* 194)

civil department is to see if we can develop some form of industry or agriculture which will relieve us of the present costs and liabilities in support of the population or the local government from the federal treasury or from private charity.

"Viewed from every point except remote naval contingencies, it was unfortunate that we ever acquired these islands. Nevertheless having assumed the responsibility, we must do our best to assist the inhabitant."

Startling and unprecedented? Yes. President Hoover has honorably broken the invariable precedent on such occasions of "making the eagle scream," of sounding off in lyric notes and flowery phrases the blessings and glories which had, or would, come to any people under the "Stars and Stripes." In other words, he uttered the stark truth. We wish only that he had expressed it with a little more emphasis on the human, rather than on the book-keeping aspects.

To us, the implications of this unique official frankness seem far reaching. They indicate, for instance, that what appears advisable, mayhap indispensable, for the safety of the country by the naval and military experts of one day may not only seem, but prove, quite the reverse to the corresponding authorities of the day after.

We acquired the Virgin Islands in 1916 for $25,000,000 gold, a price of about $1,000 per inhabitant, for—well, for what? Well, "to protect the Panama Canal," and for the general glory of expanding southward, absorbing a little more territory, removing a European foothold at our "front door," etc.

Now, in 1931, the commander in chief of the United Army and Navy declares that we got what, in the slang of that happy era of acquisition, was termed "a lemon." We bought, and paid! But we are not through paying. For, as President Hoover points out since "the people cannot be self-supporting either in living or government," we shall have to continue to support both "from the Federal treasury or from private charity." The purpose, Mr. Hoover admits, of the transfer from naval administration to civil government "is to see if we can develop some form of industry or agriculture which will relieve us of the present costs and liabilities."

Well, that's a worthy purpose. It may conceivably relieve the Virgin Islanders also. And all credit to President Hoover for trying to clean up the mess he inherited and for perceiving a thrift measure which escaped his predecessor. Only let us chalk up $25,000,000 initial cost, plus interest for many years to come, if not indefinitely, plus the cost of maintaining the government to date and henceforth, plus the cost of supporting the people to date and henceforth—and let us charge all this to some such item as "national glory and defense delusion."

Possibly—by analogy—it may occur to someone that all the vast expenditure for battleships and other instru-

ments of scientific destruction which become obsolete within a few years after they are launched, and by a nation which has solemnly pledged itself not again to resort to war as a means of settling its international differences, is an equivalent—only even much costlier—piece of folly.

Incidentally, we used to talk—in the good old days before United States over-seas expansion—about peoples which were "pawns" in the game of imperialism. "Sordid game," we called it, and put in "old-world" before "imperialism." What about those poor devils, the Virgin Islanders? Of course, they weren't considered at all. They were bought—at so much on the hoof—in 1916, because the great apostle of "self-determination of peoples" thought or was persuaded to think, by some of his "expert" naval advisers that we needed the islands to protect the Panama Canal. Dear Old Panama Canal! If some of the military and naval experts had their way, we should have cabbaged heavens know what else between us and the Straits of Magellan to protect it!

But to come back to our Virgin Islanders. They were living in relative contentment under the rule of perhaps the most civilized country on earth today, Denmark, (if this be treason—well then it's treason!) a country which has voluntarily abolished its army and navy; which gave freedom to its colony, Iceland, without objection, for no other reason than that the Icelanders desired it; a country without natural resources, in which there is neither illiteracy nor want, no racketeering and little crime, and where with merely a little strip of none too fertile soil, the Danes have maintained a self sustaining culture of intelligent self-government and economic self-sufficiency. The Danes, incidentally, though blond "Nordics," do not despise their fellow-men whose skins happen to be black or brown. They governed the Virgin Islanders as benevolently as the sons—and half-sons—of Ham have ever been governed.

Then Mr. Wilson's administration stepped in and self-determined the 25,000 natives by putting naval officers—some of them Southerners, with a bitter contempt for the colored brethren, in charge. As if the fate of our own Negroes in this land of liberty and equality were not tragic enough—we had to buy some new ones!

Well, to end on a pleasant note, Paul M. Pearson, the new civil governor, is a cultured American of excellent antecedents and record. He will do—we hope and believe—whatever kindliness and intelligence and good will may do to atone for our 16 years' misrule of those islands, the acquisition of which, as the president of the United States declares, was a misfortune for us, and was not less so for them.—Portland *Evening News*.

How to Overthrow War

A twenty-two-point "program for patriots" is suggested by Kirby Page in his book, "National Defense," a study of the origins, results and prevention of war, published today by Farrar & Rinehart. Some of Mr. Page's suggestions as to how the individual may aid in overthrowing the war system and in organizing the world on a peace basis are:

Seek clearer understanding and keener appreciation of the peoples of other lands.

Urge the adoption of textbooks which promote peace rather than war.

Advocate the establishment of a national peace department in the Federal Government.

Roll up tidal wave of public support for the Briand-Kellogg treaty.

Support the movement to induce our government to sign the optional clause of the World Court protocol.

Strive to secure the early entrance of the United States into the League of Nations.

Work for the early independence of the Philippine Islands.

Advocate the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States.

Urge the participation of our government in a new conference on reparation and war debts.

Emphasize the fallacies and perils of the military philosophy.

Struggle to secure drastic reduction in armaments.

Endeavor to secure the abandonment of armed intervention in other lands.

Seek to abolish the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in public high schools and civilian colleges and universities.

Point out the perils inherent in the citizens' military training camps.

Stand like flint against high tariffs.

Strive to avoid racial discrimination in our immigration and naturalization laws.

Attempt to remedy such acts of international injustice as that perpetrated by saddling Germany with sole guilt in causing the World War.

Go on record now as stating your present purpose not to sanction any future war nor participate in warfare as an armed combatant.

A Distinguished Visitor

Dr. Hertha Kraus was due to arrive in New York, Friday, May 15, steamer "Hamburg," Hamburg-American Line.

For the past eight years, she has been head of the Municipal Social Service Department of the city of Cologne, Germany. Previous to that (1921-22) she was head of the Berlin District, for Child-feeding, under American Quaker supervision; her headquarters at the time being in the former Kaiser's palace.

She comes to America to meet social workers, and to lecture. She expects to be present at the World's W. C. T. U. Conference, Toronto, June 3 to 10; at the National Conference of American Social Workers, Minneapolis, June 14-20; at the Graduate School of Social Service, University of Chicago, June 22-July 28. She will sail from New York, September 8th on the SS. "Resolute."

Her permanent address in America will be: Care, Dr. Catherine Cox-Miles, 75 Autumn Street, New Haven, Conn. Also from June 22 to July 28 at Cobb Lecture Hall, University of Chicago.

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